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Message Text

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PAGE 01 ANKARA 03329 01 OF 03 011515Z
ACTION NODS-00

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O 011440Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1741
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 ANKARA 3329

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY, TU
SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

REF: ANKARA 3328

1. OKCUN CALLED ME BACK THIS AFTERNOON TO GIVE ME TURKISH REACTION TO OUR SUGGESTED PARAGRAPHS FOR DEPSEC CHRISTOPHER'S MAY 2 STATEMENT IN SENATE HEARINGS. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DCM AND HE WAS AGAIN ACCOMPANIED BY HALUK OZGUL.

2. OKCUN SAID THAT GOT HAD STUDIED OUR PROPOSALS AND WISHED TO SUGGEST A DIFFERENT APPROACH. HE THEN HANDED ME THE FOLLOWING PAPER:
QTE: THE SUGGESTED STATE DEPARTMENT APPROACH TO CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSIONS IS OF A NATURE THAT WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT, SO LONG AS THIS OPPORTUNITY IS AVAILABLE TO THE GREEKS CYPRIOTS, THEY WILL TEND TO DECLINE FROM ACCEPTING THE RESUMPTION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AND LEAVE THE MATTER TO THE U.S. CONGRESS.
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BECAUSE WHEN TAKEN UP AT THE U.S. CONGRESS, RATHER THAN IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, THE PROBLEM WILL BE TURNED INTO A TOPIC OF BARGAINING BETWEEN THE U.S. CONGRESS AND TURKEY-VIA THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT-RATHER THAN REMAIN A TOPIC TO BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE PROPER PARTIES--THAT IS, THE TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOTS. THE GREEKS WILL REGARD IT AS MUCH MORE ADVANTAGEOUS BECAUSE THE EMBARGO PRESSURE OVER TURKEY

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WILL BE FULLY AND DIRECTLY UTILIZED AND MANIPULATED. THE GREEK SIDE WILL NO MORE BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A PARTY TO THE PROBLEM BUT WILL CHOOSE TO BE A PROVOCATIVE SPECTATOR. THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, IN THAT CASE, WILL BE INTERNATIONALIZED AND WILL BECOME INSOLUBLE, WITH ITS UNAVOIDABLE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES ON TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS, ON RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE, ON NATO, AS WELL AS ON CYPRUS ITSELF.

THE SUGGESTED STATE DEPARTMENT APPROACH TO CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSIONS EXPECTS, IN EFFECT, THE TURKISH SIDE TO BE ENGAGED IN A PRE-NEGOTIATION' PROCESS, IN WHICH THE GREEK SIDE, THROUGH THE U.S., WOULD FORCE TURKEY TO PUT PRESSURE UPON THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO CHANGE THEIR DECLARED NEGOTIATING POSITION EVEN BEFORE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS START, SO THAT THEY MAY BE IN A MUCH BETTER BARGAINING POSITION WHEN AND IF THE TALKS START, HAVING OBTAINED, EVEN BEFORE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, MOST OF THEIR OBJECTIVES AND THEY WILL FEEL ENTITLED TO ASK FOR MORE.

THE PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT, WITH ITS KNOWN INTERNAL PROBLEMS, HAS ALREADY TAKEN OVER TOO MUCH POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY HAS REACHED THE LIMITS OF ITS FIELD OF ACTION. THE RESPONSIBILITY UNDERTAKEN BY THE PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE MINIMIZED IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT IT DID NOT WAIT FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO BEFORE ENCOURAGING THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO COME OUT WITH CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL PROPOSALS. THERE ARE ALSO LIMITS

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TO THE DEGREE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT CAN INFLUENCE THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION, WHICH IS ALSO FACED WITH GREAT INTERNAL PROBLEMS.

IF THE GREEKS NOTICE THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS ARE WAVERING, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO ADOPT AN INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE EVEN IF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT NEGOTIATING POSITION IS TO BE CHANGED. THE HESITATION AND THE OVER-INVOLVEMENT OF THE U.S. CONGRESS HAS ALREADY STARTED SHOWING ITS NEGATIVE EFFECTS:

--BY ENCOURAGING THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO ADOPT AN
AN INCREASINGLY INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE, AND
-- BY ENCOURAGING THE ATHENS GOVERNMENT TO POSTPONE
INDEFINITELY THE HIGH-LEVEL TECHNICAL TALKS BETWEEN
TURKEY AND GREECE THAT WERE DECIDED IN MONTREUX, THEREBY
DAMAGING THE DIALOGUE THAT WAS INITIATED BETWEEN THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 ANKARA 3329

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

WE WOULD INSIST THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION SHOULD REFRAIN FROM ADOPTING A LINE, DURING THE CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSIONS, WHICH WOULD AMOUNT TO INDICATING:

-- THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT NEGOTIATING POSITION HAS BEEN OR COULD BE CHANGED;
-- OR THAT THE TURKISH SIDE WAS READY TO RELINQUISH SUBSTANTIALLY MORE THAN SHE IS, IN EFFECT, PREPARED OR ABLE TO;
-- THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION ITSELF CONSIDERS THE CYPRUS ISSUE AS INEXTRICABLE LINKED WITH THE EMBARGO.

THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION SHOULD ALSO SEE TO IT THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD NOT BECOME A TOPIC OF DISCUSSION IN THE U.S. CONGRESS, FOR, OBVIOUSLY, THAT IS NOT THE RIGHT FLOOR FOR SUCH A PROBLEM TO BE TAKEN UP IN DETAIL AND IT WOULD ONLY RESULT IN AGGRAVATING, NOT ONLY THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, BUT ALSO THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION COULD AND SHOULD STRESS THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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-- THE TURKISH SIDE HAS SHOWN ITS GOODWILL AND UNDERTAKEN GREAT POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY BY TAKING CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL STEPS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, BEFORE WAITING

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FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO;
-- TURKEY HAS GIVEN AN ADDED PROOF OF HER GOODWILL BY WITHDRAWING MORE TROOPS FROM CYPRUS EVEN AFTER THE GREEKS INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD NOT CONSENT TO SIT AROUND THE TABLE FOR INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS;
-- IT HAS BEEN OPENLY STATED THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS CONSTITUTE A "NEGOTIATING POSITION", INDICATING THAT THE TURKS ARE NOT RIGID BUT ARE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE DURING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS;
-- THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS TESTIFY TO THE RYPRIOT TURKS SERIOUS INTENTION OF SETTING UP A REAL AND EFFECTIVE FEDERATION FROM THE BEGINNING -- A FEDERATION WHICH COULD EVOLVE WITH TIME INTO AN EVEN MORE CLOSELY-KNIT PATTERN OF COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP;
-- IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE TURKISH SIDE HAS MADE AN IMPORTANT GESTURE OF GOODWILL BY RXPRESSING ITS READINESS TO ALLOW SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF GREEKS TO SETTLE IN VAROSHA WHICH IS ECONOMICALLY THE MOST IMPORTANT AND REWARDING PLACE ON THE ISLAND;
-- IT IS ALSO OBVIOUS THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS ARE NOT RIGID ABOUT THE POLITICAL STATUS OF VAROSHA AND ARE OPEN TO CONSIDER VARIOUS ALTERNATIVE FORMULAS ONCE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ARE RESUMED;
-- THE TURKISH PROPOSALS ARE VERY MUCH IN LINE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON BETWEEN DENKTASH AND

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THE LATE MAKARIOS ON 12TH FEBRUARY 1977 AND INTERPRET THESE PRINCIPLES IN A RATHER CONSTRUCTIVE AND GENEROUS WAY WHICH SHOWS THAT THE TURKISH SIDE IS CONSISTENT;
-- IF THE CONGRESS SEEMS RELUCTANT TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, THE GREEKS WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO ADOPT AN INCREASINGLY MORE TRANSIGENT ATTITUDE AND WILL DECLINE TO RECIPROCATE THE WELL-INTENTIONED ADVANCES MADE BY THE TURKISH SIDE, AS A RESULT OF WHICH A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY FOR SOLVING THE CYPRUS ISSUE WOULD BE MISSED, THE POSSIBILITY OF A RAPPROCHMENT BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE WOULD BE LOST AND THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS AS WELL AS THE SOUTHEASTERN WING OF NATO COULD BECOME IRREPARABLY DAMAGED.

IT SHOULD ALSO BE IMPRESSED UPON MR. WALDHEIM THAT HE IS NOT ENTITLED TO DECLINE FROM CALLING FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, PARTICULARLY

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AFTER HE ADMITTED THAT THE TURKISH PROPOSALS WERE "CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL", AS THIS WOULD PUT HIM IN THE POSITION OF AN ARBITER (AND A BIASED ONE)-- A POSITION THAT WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH HIS GOOD-OFFICES FUNCTION. IF HE DOES DECLINE, WE WILL SHARE A GREAT PART OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ADVERSE DEVELOPMENTS THAT MAY TAKE PLACE IN THE FUTURE, NOT ONLY WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS, BUT ALSO WITH REGARD TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE AND TURKEY AND THE U.S.

THE SITUATION THAT WE ARE FACED WITH AT THIS STAGE, RESEMBLES THE UNFORTUNATE SITUATION THAT WE HAD BEEN FACED WITH YEARS AGO IN CONNECTION WITH THE "DEAN ACHESON FORMULA":

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 ANKARA 3329

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, HAVING OBTAINED THE CONSENT OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT FOR THAT FORMULA, RETREATED FROM ITS OWN POSITION WHEN THE GREEKS REJECTED IT. THE U.S. THEN CAME FORTH WITH ANOTHER "DEAN ACHESON FORMULA" WHICH WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE TURKS THEN THE FIRST ONE. THE TURKISH SIDE ACCEPTED EVEN THE SECOND PROPOSAL IN GOOD FAITH BUT THE U.SAM AGAIN RETREATED UNDER GREEK PRESSURE. ALL THESE UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENTS, AT THAT TIME, CREATED A SERIOUS CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE IN TURKEY VIS-A-VIS TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND RESULTED IN A PROLONGATION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN INCREASINGLY AGGRAVATED FORM

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THROUGH THE YEARS, WHICH EVENTUALLY LED TO THE DEVELOPMENTS
THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE SUMMER OF 1974.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT A SIMILAR U.S. APPROACH NOW
WOULD NOT AND COULD NOT PRODUCE ANY BETTER RESULTS. UNQTE

3. AFTER STUDYING PAPER, I TOLD OKCUN THAT TURKISH
RESPONSE WOULD BE VIEWED WITH GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT IN
WASHINGTON. I COULD SEE ONLY TWO POSITIVE ELEMENTS:
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THE STATEMENT THAT THE TURK NEGOTIATING POSITION WAS
NOT RIGID AND THEY WERE PREPARED TO BE FLEXIBLE; AND
THE STATEMENT THAT TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD NOT BE RIGID
ABOUT FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF VAROSHA. I COMMENTED
THAT THE TURKS WERE IGNORING THE REAL CONDITIONS IN
THE CONGRESS WHERE THE ADMINISTRATION WAS ATTEMPTING
TO PERSUADE PEOPLE TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS, NO MATTER
WHAT THE TURKS THOUGHT ABOUT IT THOSE PEOPLE WHO
WERE BEING ASKED TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS DID CONNECT
CYPRUS AND THE EMBARGO. I SAID THAT I WOULD TRANSMIT
THE TURKISH PAPER TO WASHINGTON AND THEN COMMENTED
THAT AT SOME POINT THERE WOULD BE GREAT PRESSURE FOR
THE ADMINISTRATION TO STATE ITS VIEWS ON THE SUBSTANCE
OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. I AM REPORTING THAT PORTION
OF THE CONVERSATION SEPTEL.

4. LATER OZGUL TELEPHONED FROM FONMINISTRY TO CALL
OUR ATTENTION TO PARA IN PAPER CITING MARKARIOS-DENKTASH
AGREEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. HE SAID OKCUN BELIEVED WE SHOULD
STRESS THIS AGREEMENT IN OUR PRESENTATION TO CONGRESS.
OZGUL SUBSEQUENTLY SUPPLIED FOLLOWING TEXT OF AGREEMENT:

QTE 12 FEB 1977 DENKTASH-MAKARIOS AGREEMENT

DURING OUR TALKS, WHICH LASTED FOR FOUR HOURS,
INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES
IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AS THE BASIS FOR FUTURE
NEGOTIATIONS.
IT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED TO RECONVENE THE CYPRUS
TALKS IN VIENNA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SECRETRAY
GENERAL AT THE END OF MARCH.

THE TEXT OF THE AGREED INSTRUCTIONS (GUIDELINES)
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REFERRED TO IN THE ABOVE COMMUNIQUE READS AS FOLLOWS:

1- WE ARE SEEKING AN INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED, BI-COMMUNAL FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

2- THE TERRITORY UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF EACH COMMUNITY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE LIGHT OF ECONOMIC VIABILITY OR PRODUCTIVITY AND LAND OWNERSHIP.

3- QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLES LIKE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT, THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY AND OTHER SPECIFIC MATTERS, ARE OPEN FOR DISCUSSION TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF A BI-COMMUNAL FEDERAL SYSTEM AND CERTAIN PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH MAY ARISE FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY.

4- THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL BE SUCH AS TO SAFEGUARD THE UNITY OF THE COUNTRY, HAVING REGARD TO THE BI-COMMUNAL CHARACTER OF THE STATE. UNQTE

5. COMMENT: TURK RESPONSE CONTAINED IN TEXT IS VERY HARD AND DOES NOT RESPOND TO THE SPIRIT OF OUR REQUEST, I.E. THAT WE HAD A COMMON PROBLEM AND WERE SOLICITING TURKISH COOPERATION IN SOLVING IT. THE PAPER ALSO ILLUSTRATES THE DEPTH OF OUR PROBLEM: THE TURKS DO NOT TRUST US AND ARE NOT YET FULLY CONVINCED THAT WE ARE TRYING IN GOOD FAITH TO GET THE EMBARGO RAISED. THEY CONTINUE TO BELIEVE (AT LEAST HALF WAY) THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE GREEKS.
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